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PRICE FIVEPENCE

Lord Shepherd (G.R.S.)

REVIEWING George Shepherd's long career in the Labour Movement recalls Keir Hardie's injunction to the 617 voters who failed to return him at the famous Mid-Lanarkshire by-election in 1888: "Perfect your organisation; educate your fellows, look to the register; spread the light; and the future is yours!"

The future presented a pretty grim prospect then as it did a decade later when George's waking political consciousness led him into the new Labour Party then weakly but confidently emerging.

Born in Spalding in 1881, board school education laid down the limits for him, as for thousands of other similar youngsters, of educational advantage. At 14 he found himself in a Bradford shoe shop. That city in the nineties was pioneering the new political ideas, for in 1893 the I.L.P. had been founded there.

George joined the struggling Shop Assistants' Union, which he represented on the Trades Council, and between that and the local work of the I.L.P. branch he gained the ability to think and speak on his feet either indoors or outdoors.

Shoe shops are probably the best organised and tidiest of all retail establishments, and forever after George had a tidiness about his mind and ways of life that became a predominant characteristic. After brief periods in London and Mansfield, he relinquished shop life and became Midlands organiser of the I.L.P.—rather a risky venture in those days. Working from Nottingham, he still kept his union card clear and so it was to the end of his life.

By 1906, the Labour Representation Committee had been created and had thirty-odd Members of Parliament, some of whom were making some stir in the House and in the country. Among them was Alex Wilkie, the ship's carpenter who came ashore to unify the various shipwrights' unions round the coast, and who had won one of the two seats in Dundee. George was Registration Agent; but Wilkie, being something of 'a sea lawyer' himself, took no chances and had a solicitor to act as Election Agent when necessary.

George was a wide reader already, but the volume that commanded his real affection and respect was 'Parker' (beloved nowadays by all Party agents and other queer people who like that sort of escapism). It was always a formidable tome, and George revered it as normal Christians do their Bibles. Later in life, as responsibility came, he had a great fondness for the 'Model Rules', also cherished by Party agents from one end of the country to the other.

Philip Snowden

After a useful Scottish experience, he went to Blackburn where Philip Snowden had also won one of the two seats. Seeking useful contacts for the new task, he found that Mary Macarthur had appointed a competent young woman from the South to see what could be done to bring the unorganised women outside the cotton industry into the National Federation of Women Workers. Ada Newton was a boon and a blessing to George, not only in Blackburn, but from 1915 to his death as an understanding wife who shared his faith and fortune.

Life in Bradford, Dundee, and Blackburn gave reality to those 'dark satanic mills' that moved Blake to pen his immortal lines, but despite everything the dream of a new Jerusalem persisted—and marked-up registers, canvass cards, and even trap-timers handled by enthusiastic and able men and women, with 'Parker' at one's elbow, all had their place. Socialism was a living, vital inspiration but it demanded, steady, plodding work.

demanded steady plodding work.

The first World War shattered many hopes, national and international. It killed Keir Hardie. The Labour Party, dissentient in its organisation and its activities as never before or since, preserved its unity and came out of the welter determined on a completely new beginning. The first National Agent, Arthur Peters, had resigned after over ten years of hard grind, and by great good fortune, Egerton Wake, Party agent at Barrow-in-Furness, succeeded to the task of aiding Arthur Henderson to make the new constitution effective and to fashion the new individual membership into solid forces for political advance.

In this he proved a good companion to Marion Phillips, who undertook the task of bringing the women membership into the newly-conceived Women's Sections.

Succeeded Wake

Among the team of organisers to initiate and direct the work in the various regions, George was brought South again, first to organise in the Southern and Home Counties, and later, as Assistant to Egerton, when the health of the latter began to break. Upon Egerton's untimely death, George took his place and so continued until retirement in 1946. He became a fount of political wisdom and, with the wholehearted devotion of his staff, inside and outside the Head Office, the Party on that side of tis work, as on others, earned and merited the envy of the other Parties.

George was a sage counsellor to the hundreds of would-be candidates who sought his advice. He had his share in the appointment of Party agents in the constituencies and in the formation of their Union. He was at the centre of the electoral machine in seven General Elections and shared the emotions of the Movement as Party fortunes varied—be they Minority Governments as in 1924 and 1929, or seeming irretrievable disaster in 1931—but always came back to the necessity for 'perfecting the organisation'.

The appointment of Harold Croft as Registrar in George's department to direct the education and examination of prospective Party agents and others became of first importance and had much to do with the great achievements in 1945, after the

second World War had opened the way for the advance of millions of Socialists.

George could laugh on occasion, but not as boisterously or as irresponsibly as many of his colleagues. To all appearance he had the dullest of all the dull jobs in the Party headquarters, but in his mind's eye he could see the living comrades in all the constituencies he had visited throughout his long career; and he had good memories of many who had served their day in sun and shower and had gone their way.

He was jealous for the Party and had his share of the successful efforts to keep the Communists from destroying the Movement. He preserved a philosophic calm when defeat came and turned like a phlegmatic Hollander to 'mend the dikes'.

During the last war, George associated with the other national Party agents in various necessary activities that arose as a result of Labour joining the Churchill Government. So George and the late Tory Chief Agent, afterwards Sir Robert Topping, came to have a healthy respect for each other's abilities. Their joint work in preparing the lines of the Representation of the People Act that operated after the war was both vital and notable, though all pursued away from public view and, of course, from public acclaim.

When Clement Attlee, as Prime Minister, suggested that George might be of service to the Party in the House of Lords, George was constrained to accept and took on the task as he had all others in his long life: methodically and seriously. He was quietly proud of attaining a post in Government after some forty years striving in the widerness; and Lord Jowitt's tribute when he died was a true and just

appraisal.

George was indeed 'a square peg in a square hole'. An intimate colleague writes: "George was an upright, honest man, and though he could not be called a popular figure, he did have the affection of those who worked with him and knew him intimately." That is a good testimony for anyone in this world, even in this Party of ours—with personal soreness and far too much acrimony where it should not be—it is a fine testimony for George's good Lady Ada, for Malcolm, the new Lord Shepherd, and for Margaret his sister, to remember and cherish in the days that are yet to be.

J.S.M.

QUAIR'S PAGE

MR. EDITOR, SIR,—A month ago I had something to say about meetings, and now with your permission I want to say a bit more. Not this time about public meetings but about Party meetings, thousands of them.

The smiling young West African who addressed our ward meeting a few nights ago gave me in forty minutes a better mental picture of his native territory than I had ever derived from reading books and pamphlets about it. He described the primitive agricultural system in which an area is cropped and grazed for one year and left fallow for six. He waxed enthusiastic over the rapid extension of medical and hospital services which are transforming the lives of his fellow-He infuriated our incorcountrymen. rigible Anti-Imperialist member by paying unstinted tribute to the help that had come from the Colonial Office.

HE spoke of one part of his native land where the rainfall in six months is ten times as great as that of England in twelve; a thing very difficult to believe on some days recently. But what impressed me most of all was the way his pleasant face shone with reminiscent delight when he told us of a temperature of 120° in the shade.

It impressed me, I say, because it was an evening of bitter, penetrating cold. "Mine enemy's dog, though he had bit me, should have sat that night beside my fire." I had, somewhat reluctantly, left a good book at the fireside and walked a mile-and-half to my constituency party's headquarters, a massive structure "owned" by the party by the grace of a building society.

The ward meeting was accommodated in a dowdy room without any form of heating. The whole attendance (six of us including the officers), huddled in our overcoats, sat and shivered and steadily froze for over two hours. When the chairman closed the proceedings I looked at my watch, saw the time was 9.53, and took a flying leap out of the room.

SIR, on numbed feet I walked half-a-mile in seven minutes. The church clock was striking ten as I burst my way into

Comfortable Seats, Genial Warmth

a spacious bar. There were comfortable arm-chairs, and a glorious fire burning in a wide old-fashioned grate. Alas, the bar-tender hollered "TIME" as he was handing me the tuppence change out of my shilling, and within a minute I was out again in the dark and the cold, and I trudged the rest of the way through driving sleet.

When I reached the house my cup of bitterness overfilled, but did not overflow because it was frozen. I turned on the radio, and heard some lying jade drooling about "wanning to wash her hands, her face and hair, in snooww."

All the world knows that the British Way of Life is tough. What some of our Labour Parties fail to realise is that there is a limit to the voluntary endurance of discomfort. Innkeepers and cinema proprietors know better than that. Genial warmth, comfortable seats, good lighting and bright decoration, pay dividends.

Sir, it has fallen to my lot to attend a large number of Labour Party meetings in many parts of the country, and I can recall many dreary and depressing experiences. Far too many of our parties pay little attention to this important matter of bodily and mental comfort, and whether in their own buildings or in hired premises expect their members to attend and do business in surroundings which are an affront to every aesthetic sense.

ONE party, I remember, had the nous, even when it had not much money, to hold its General Committee meetings in the best hotel in the town. How the delegates rolled up! Maybe they liked the populace to see them going into a place which in the ordinary way they did not patronise. Anyhow, it might be worth the while of many parties to look into this matter of holding their meetings in the most attractive and tasteful premises that are available.

Publicity Man: By-Election 'Must'

MANY of our recent by-elections, although held in widely varying localities, have had in common comparatively low percentage polls, poorly attended public meetings, apathy on the part of the public and absenteeism among the workers.

We know that Labour does well in lively elections and it could be dangerous for this present trend of dead campaigns to continue without comment and discussion.

We live in an age where myriads of organisations, from UNICEF to OMO, fiecely compete for the attention of the public. If interest is to be secured for an election, then the campaign must be well publicised.

In a general election the radio, television and the national Press give considerable and continuing impetus to awakening public interest. In a by-election, fought without these aids and particularly in those by-elections where the actual result is safely predictable, effective publicity is essential if Labour supporters are to take much interest in the campaign.

It is normal practice for the bulk of by-election work and money to be spent on publicity. However, this publicity often fails to achieve its object because it lacks co-ordination and balance.

Publicity is a message conveyed from one group of people to another, usually much larger group. There are only two methods of doing this—by the printed word and by the spoken word.

In our by-election campaigns, the major part of the printed word is conveyed by the election address and by the election special or broadsheet. The spoken word is carried-by the canvassers and by the speakers at indoor and outdoor public meetings. A large number of people are involved in getting this work done, but no one person plans their impact on the electorate, or co-ordinates their work.

In order to secure co-ordinated publicity, I advocate the appointment of a Publicity Officer to the by-election agent's staff.

It might be argued that this is the job of the election agent, but he should not have to deal with the detailed work of any one department, and publicity is only one of the many things which the agent has to supervise.

The publicity officer would work under the agent and would be responsible for a carefully planned and persistent onslaught on the attention of the electorate. No breakdown at the printers, mislaid nomination papers or wrongly pasted canvass cards would deflect his attention from his mission of putting Labour on the map and keeping it there throughout the campaign.

When the by-election is imminent the publicity officer would attend a meeting of the election agent, the candidate and certain others, where the main line of Labour's attack would be decided.

With a public nurtured on headlines and catch-phrases, these by-election issues would need to be translated into political slogans. The candidate would then write his election address around these points, thereby reversing the usual practice of the candidate producing his material and the agent spending agonised hours trying to extract suitable cross heads.

Posters and newspaper advertisements make the public aware of the election; the election address does more—it explains and amplifies. Therefore, the campaign should be planned so that the posters and advertisements appear early and the election address, containing phrases that link directly to the posters and advertisements, appears at a later and more receptive stage.

The canvass should also be connected to this publicity plan. Our traditional form of canvassing at an election is very passive. Information is sought, obtained and the one and only personal contact that most electors have, passes on quickly to the next call.

Canvassers should memorise a couple of sentences containing the key publicity

phrases which could be delivered at the close of the interview-either as a thought provoking parting thrust to opponents and doubtfuls, or as inspiring ammunition to

supporters.

The same technique would be used at every indoor and outdoor public meeting. The candidate would include in his speeches one or two telling phrases which would be remembered after the meeting, and leaflets emphasising these points would be distributed as the audience departed.

have seen in commercial publicity campaigns the effective use of reiteration. We all know what is good for us, what adds brightness to whiteness and what makes us sleep sweeter.

In the same way by polling day every supporter should be able to say why he or she is voting Labour, and this can only be achieved by having one person to co-ordinate the entire impact of the campaign on the public.

So far as the present unbalance of our by-election publicity is concerned, the resourses of a commercial advertising agency include the Press, posters, direct mail, films, and at some time in the near

future, commercial television.

In a by-election campaign, about 90 per cent of money expended on publicity goes on direct mail.

To have a lively campaign we need spectacle. Is the fact that so much of our publicity vanishes into homes the reason for our 'dead' campaigns?

We should not acquiesce spinelessly if we cannot obtain the right sort of commercial poster sites. We could have our own hoardings on supporters' houses and in their front gardens and it would be the job of the publicity officer to get them there.

Our present use of the local Press is mainly confined to meetings advertisements. But there are the possibilities of articles by the candidate, the woman's angle by his wife, news photographs, the gossip column, human interest stories, the classified advertisements and letters to the editor, all of which could be explored and used by a publicity officer free to give this his full attention.

In the final instance, however, it is not the name of the Labour Party or a campaign slogan which appears on the ballot

paper.

Despite every organiser's private belief

and any statistics which can be produced, the Labour candidate is the election campaign to most of the electorate and, indeed, to many of the party members. They want to know what he is as a person as well as what he says.

Folks are more interested in folks than in facts. The candidate's personality, his family and his background need to be projected, if not in the style of certain film stars, certainly with as much news value.

The candidate is the spearhead of our attack; he should be presented to the public in a manner befitting his important function.

All members of our present by-election teams have a particular job allocated to them, and they work bedeviled by the mechanics of getting the job done. All their time and attention is taken up with this work and except for occasional fleeting moments, they never have time to look at the campaign from the point of view of the very people they are trying to influence.

The verdict on the campaign lies in the hands of the public. Their 'consumer's' interest ought to be represented and surely this merits one man's undivided and constant attention.

MARGARET FOX

BRIEF COMMENT

The initials J.S.M. at the end of the note on Lord Shepherd are of course those of J. S. Middleton. He has a record of service to the Labour Party even longer than that of his old colleague to whom he pays tribute. Secretary of the Labour Party for many years, before that he was its Assistant Secretary, having joined the staff in 1902.

In last month's article on the by-elections, Aldershot was included among those constituencies where there was an insignificant fall in the Labour vote. In fact at Aldershot there was an insignificant rise in the Labour vote of two per cent.

Labour Party

Fabians Stimulate Thought

A RE there regular discussions and informed lectures about the details of Labour policy in your area? Do you manage to attract to some of your meetings people who are not yet members of the Party? If your answer is no, then you might consider forming a Local Fabian Society.

The Fabian Society, in the words of its

constitution:

... consists of Socialists. It therefore aims at the establishment of a society in which equality of opportunity will be assured and the economic power and privileges of individuals and classes abolished through the collective ownership and democratic control of the economic resources of the community. It seeks to secure these ends by the method of political democracy. The Society believes in equal citizenship in the fullest sense, is open to persons irrespective of sex, race or creed, who commit themselves to its aims and purposes and undertake to promote its work.

Since its formation in 1884 it has enrolled thoughtful socialists who want to discuss the essential questions of democratic socialism, and relate them to practical plans for building socialism in a

changing world.

DISCUSSION CENTRES

The national society undertakes research, plans national series of lectures and publishes books and pamphlets on home, colonial and international affairs. Local Fabian societies are centres for full and free discussion of political and economic problems and often undertake research.

It is important to realise from the outset that the society, both nationally and locally, cannot be used by dissatisfied persons merely to push their own pet policy, since the Society has no collective policy other than that outlined above and cannot—thank heaven—pass resolutions. Fabians who wish to do this must do so as indi-

vidual members of the Labour Party in that body.

The Fabian Society exists to undertake socialist research and education. In local societies, as in the national society, there are two forms of membership. A person who accepts the constitution becomes a full member. One who is interested in social and political problems but who does not want or is unable to commit himself to accepting the whole basis of the Fabian Society can join as an Associate.

NO RESPONSIBILITY

An Associate can take no responsibility for the organisation of the local societies or be an officer, and cannot officially represent it as a delegate, but can attend all its meetings and take an active part in them. In this way professional, technical and managerial people are often brought into the movement. Many finally decide to join as full members and become active within the Party.

In any event, we obtain the benefit of the opinion and knowledge of interested people not yet members of the Labour Party. Thus, a local Fabian society provides many people with their first introduction to active politics and gives an opportunity for political work to others who, because of their occupation, cannot is the Party.

join the Party.

We are all convinced to-day of the need for adequate opportunities for full and informed discussion of social, political and economic problems, and we know how difficult it is in many Labour Parties

to find the time.

This is nobody's fault. Much of the Labour Party's normal meetings must be centred round its organisational duties, and policy often occupies only a minor place. On the other hand, the large public meeting must concern itself with fundamental principles or matters of immediate importance.

A local Fabian society can provide just what is missing: a free forum for discussion where all can take an active part. The national society is affiliated to the Labour Party and most local societies are affiliated to their Constituency Labour Parties. The societies can complement the work of the Labour Party by making it possible to test opinion on policies in a detached and friendly way, often not possible within the Party itself.

Because, as mentioned earlier, the societies pass no resolutions, and because both those in and out of the movement can freely express their opinions, a real opportunity is provided for frank discussions, without any fears that the proceedings can be used to embarrass the

Party.

Traditionally, there are two aspects to the work of the Fabian Society—socialist education and research. For most local societies socialist education will always be the chief job, but during the past ten years local research has become increas-

ingly important.

Some of the work has been on a national scale, such as an inquiry about Consumers' Councils, which resulted in a most useful and widely used pamphlet, or on the Youth Employment Service which provided the material for the Fabian Quarterly, but equally important there has been work on purely local questions. This usually takes the form of surveys of some local service, to provide information useful to the Local Authority or to further local Labour policy.

PRODUCED REPORTS

In some cases, local societies have produced reports which have gained considerable publicity, as at Oxford, where the local society produced an interesting survey of the membership of 24 public boards and committees in the area, with a view to analysing the composition of these local nominated committees, and to discover whether a fair proportion of places was going to members and sympathisers of the Trade Union and Labour movements.

From time to time societies are asked to consider discussion questionnaires and to let Head Office have summaries of opinions expressed. At present many societies are completing a discussion guide on Equality, prepared by W. T. Rodgers, the Society's General Secretary. The Manchester Guardian has suggested that the Fabian Society "has tossed rather a tough nut to its local societies for them to chew over this winter", and they should have "a merry winter searching

their hearts" over the problem of social equality in all its implications.

In all these various ways, the Fabian Society, locally as well as nationally, seeks to influence the Labour Movement, but not by preparing alternative programmes: each pamphlet published by the Fabian Society carries a disclaimer clause explaining that it represents, not the collective view of the Society, but only those of the individual who prepared it.

The Society influences the movement by continually throwing out ideas and suggestions which it hopes will influence those who make policy in the normal constitutional way through the Party machine.

In the past, some of the work of the I.L.P. and the Socialist League created some suspicion. On the other hand, the Society has been affiliated to the Labour Party ever since it helped to create it in 1901, and has never quarrelled with it. While insisting on our independence of thought, we have refused to commit the Society as a whole, collectively, on any internal controversy.

The best local societies contain socialists representative of a wide variety of opinion, but united in feeling a need for thinking primarily about both the long and short-term problems of politics, irrespective of immediate election tactics. It is vital that there should be groups of socialists working closely with the Party who can keep their knowledge and ideas up-to-date.

Nothing that has been said in this article must be taken to indicate that individual members are not expected to play their full part in all local Labour Party activities. In addition to these activities there must be a body, akin to the old I.L.P., that concentrates on socialist education and research, irrespective of the very necessary work of electoral organisation, and this need is met by the existence of a really active Local Fabian society.

I hope you have been interested in the possibility of a local Fabian Society in your area.

The secretary of the Local Societies Committee of the Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1, will be happy to send further information on any aspect of our work.

Arthur Skeffington

FOG DENIED LABOU

SO much has been written about the West Derby by-election campaign, mostly by those who took no part in it, and often by those who neither know Liverpool nor its constituencies, that perhaps a few words by the agent for the election may be useful to those who wish to make a realistic assessment of the lesson that can be learned.

The opportunity presented by this byelection was welcomed by everybody concerned with the constituency, and the Party entered the fight full of enthusiasm and confident of victory.

The candidate, a Labour and Co-operative nominee, Cyril Fenton, adopted as the prospective candidate some two years ago, had won the respect and affection of all those active in the Party work and by his forthright advecacy of Party policy without entering into any factional disputes, had assured the complete unity of the Party.

Well Received

During the campaign his qualities were recognised by the ever-increasing number of electors and, while the Conservative candidate may have had some small advantage in that he was a Liverpool man, at all meetings Cyril Fenton was well received.

The constituency itself, which could be duplicated in most large cities, is made up of nearly 68,000 electors, divided into five wards and two of these wards, Gillmoss and Dovecot, are mainly recently developed corporation housing estates and are situated on the extreme perimeter of the city of Liverpool, that is about four to six miles from the city centre. These two wards provide the main strength of the Labour yote.

At the recent General Election of Councillors for the Liverpool City Council, they each returned three Labour councillors. In each of the other three wards three Conservative councillors were returned, in the Croxteth Ward with very large majorities.

The constituency contains virtually no industry and the electors in most cases had considerable distances to travel to work. From the Labour wards the journey to the docks would be four or five miles; those who work at Cammell Laird's or other places on the other side of the Mersey would have a journey to the city centre, thence under the Mersey, and a journey on the far side.

Long Journeys

These long journeys presented a serious problem in electioneering, for quite obviously few of the workers travelling such large distances can poll before leaving for work in the morning, and the period for polling on their return from work is also heavily cut. In the upshot, as will be seen, these long journeys had a great deal to do with Labour's defeat.

The organisation of the election proved relatively easy because of the wealth of voluntary assistance both from Co-operative and Labour Parties. The result was that the campaign proceeded smoothly, efficiently and happily.

Election literature was delivered house to house on time, the election envelopes were addressed, packed and delivered to the postal authorities at the appointed times and the canvass was so well conducted that in the last few days all canvassers were making second or third calls on the 'outs'. At the eve of poll we had 31,989 promises for Labour, a figure which on all calculations would have been sufficient to win.

Postal Votes

Considerable attention was given to the question of Postal Voters and a special department was established. A housing estate outside the city boundaries populated by persons transferred from the city was thoroughly canvassed and postal votes recorded. Arrangements were made for the use of cars during the day time in connection with removals where a postal vote had not been obtained. The

WEST DERBY GAIN

fog and driving conditions prevented large numbers of removals being brought from outside the city in the evening.

The campaign was a quiet campaign in all respects. Our opponents kept the date of the issue of the writ to themselves and it was not until October 30th that we had any idea of the date of the election. November 18th was fixed for polling and in fact the effective organisation of our campaign started on November 1st, giving us 17 days in which to work.

Our first literature, the Election Special, went out during the weekend November 5th/6th/7th, and public meetings started on the 8th. As is usual in all by-elections, interest was slow in developing and public meetings for both Parties were badly attended in the early days and it was not until the weekend before the poll, commencing with November 12th, that real interest was aroused.

Below Average

From this period the public meetings were well attended. Again, however, the nature of the constituency hindered the organisation for the largest hall in the constituency accommodated only about 500 people. Factory gate meetings were out as there were no factories, but one was held at a large factory on the edge of the constituency. Loudspeaker work was also restricted because of the nature of the housing estates.

The main limiting factor during the whole of the campaign had been the weather. On a number of occasions work had been seriously restricted by heavy rain and on others by limited fog, but these handicaps had been overcome, mainly because of the rally of workers, both in the division and from outside.

Public Meetings

On polling day the whole constituency was enveloped with a moderate fog, which, however, did not interfere with the work of the election. Our full quota of cars reported and were sent to their respective committee rooms as were the

voluntary workers who came from many parts of the county.

Unfortunately, with the coming of darkness, the fog worsened and, still more unfortunately, it was at its worst on the outskirts of the city, that is, in the two Labour wards. It was still possible, with difficulty, to drive a car in the inner wards, Croxteth, Clubmoor and Tuebrook, but in the Labour wards of Gillmoss and Dovecot the movement of cars was virtually impossible.

Still more unfortunately the transit of workers to their homes was delayed and with Labour seriously in arrears as it normally is, in the number of votes cast at six o'clock, we were faced with the task of getting our people to the poll under conditions which made it almost impossible.

It is, of course, easy to say that everybody should cast their vote, but it is not so easy in a by-election to convince people who have perhaps been struggling home through fog and are very late arriving home that they and their wives, who almost always wait for their husbands, to turn out again in dense fog and walk to polling stations which, on most of the housing estates, are considerable distances from the houses.

Full Quota

The fact was that we could not get our people to the poll and in the safe Labour areas polling would vary between 45 and 55 per cent, whilst in the Conservative Croxteth area, where polling was heavy all day, it would average 70 per cent. The average poll for the whole constituency was 58 per cent.

No doubt criticisms can be laid against the conduct of this campaign, as indeed it can in every other case. The main criticism that should be levelled at us, however, was our failure to organise the weather. Perhaps from those who apparently know all the answers we may have some guidance as to how this might be done for the future.

REG. WALLIS

Expelled For Opinions?

by A. L. WILLIAMS

I HEARD the other day a complaint that a person had been expelled from Labour Party membership "because of his opinions".

The belief that a person can hold any opinion he likes and yet be a member of the Labour Party is incredibly naïve. An organisation is formed to fulfil certain purposes: anybody who joins with a view to winning the organisation for other purposes is always in danger of expulsion.

The enthusiast who joins a cricket club with the purpose of converting it into a tennis club will soon find himself in conflict with those who joined the club to play or watch cricket!

It must be admitted that there is little chance of such a possibility, because those who want to play tennis join tennis clubs.

In politics, and particularly Labour politics, however, it is quite common for efforts to be made to capture organisations for objects other than those for which they were formed. Even in the early days of the modern Socialist movement, Karl Marx took the lead in expelling the anarchist followers of Bakunin from the International Working Men's Association.

Infiltration of Labour organisations for subversive purposes was elevated into a first principle of revolutionary tactics by Lenin, and this practice has been faithfully followed by all brands of Communists since.

The Labour Party was an early victim: the Communists applied in 1920 for affiliation to the Labour Party, but this was refused at the Brighton conference in the following year, and renewed applications were turned down at the 1923 and 1924 conferences. At the latter conference it was agreed "that no member of the Communist Party shall be eligible for endorsement as a Labour candidate in Parliament or by any local authority", and "that no member of the Communist Party be eligible for membership of the Labour Party".

Subsequent conferences reaffirmed these decisions and in 1928 a decision was made banning Communists from Labour Party platforms.

In 1930 it was decided "that a person who is a member of a political party or organisations ancillary or subsidiary thereto declared by the Annual Conference or National Executive Committee in pursuance of Conference decisions to be ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party, may not be an individual member of and may not take part in the work of this Party as a member of an affiliated organisation".

In the Model Rules, adopted in the same year, it was laid down as a condition of membership that each member must "accept and conform to the constitution, principles, programme and policies of the Labour Party . . . "

Under this rule, not only is a Communist ineligible to be a member, but also all those who wish to be members must accept the social democratic principles of the Labour Party.

These principles imply the use of constitutional means to achieve Socialism.

The Labour Party might be quite wrong in believing that its socialist goal can be achieved through action in Parliament and on local authorities, and the Communists may be quite right in their belief that Socialism can be achieved only by a revolutionary upheaval and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the Labour Party is quite justified in refusing to accept as members those who believe in the revolutionary way.

At the same time, the Labour Party is a democratic party and its members share in the formulating of policy. Out of discussion and argument at all levels, common agreement is sought for the policies to be followed. Even after agreement has been reached by majority decision, the minority is free to seek a reversal of policy. Though common sense sets the limits to this freedom: the electors expect the Party to make up its mind about current issues.

The danger to be guarded against is not the awkward member who disagrees violently on minor points of policy, but is the fanatic whose purpose is to entice the Labour Party into the jungle of revolutionary adventurism.

HOW TO DEAL WITH 'Y' VOTER

by L. G. SIMS

THE Electors Lists, in addition to supplying us with valuable information about new electors and those who will no longer be qualified, also indicates, in advance, those who will be 'Y' voters in the new Register of Electors.

'Y' voters are those whose 21st birthday falls between 11th October, 1954 and 16th June, 1955, and who will be entitled to

vote after 1st October, 1955.

These young people should be made conscious of the fact that they will be able to vote next October and therefore that they should take an interest in political affairs—especially in view of the possibility of a General Election in the autumn.

If we do intend to contact and interest these young people, either through the League of Youth, or ward or local party, some thought must be given to the right time and the approach. Unless we do this our chances of interesting them are remote. As the Register of Electors is published in February, this is the best month to plan the visits. The number of 'Y' voters varies between 300 and 500 per constituency.

Being young people they have varying interests and activities. This being so, a formal letter in itself is not likely to have much effect. The letter, if it is to create interest, must be felt to be personal. This does not mean that each letter must be individually written or typed, but it does mean ensuring it is personally addressed and signed in ink by the Chairman and/or Secretary—the latter point being essential. A leaflet, such as 'Invitation to a Party' might usefully be enclosed.

The letter, in addition to congratulating them on their first entry as a voter and telling them of the responsibility that rests upon them to appreciate the problems of the day, should state that it was hoped to call and see them at a convenient time. The choice of a time that is convenient is most important. The majority of young people, after hurrying home for a meal after work, go out most evenings of the week. The best time to find them at home, it is found, is on a Sunday

morning—not too early nor yet too near the mid-day meal.

The call, which is primarily on the 'Y' voter, can easily be extended to cover the rest of the family if needed. The visit should not take up a lot of time but be sufficient to indicate that it was a special call and not just one of many—as in the case of the ordinary canvass.

Where a League Branch is active, a programme of its functions should be taken; in other cases details of the activities of the ward or local party. It may be found that there are other young people in the house, not yet eligible to vote but who are interested, they too should be drawn in.

Some thought must be given to the question of who should make the visits. It is thought that a call by a young person of the opposite sex has the most effect and is certainly worth considering. One thing is certain, however, and that is no matter who does call, he or she should look neat and tidy.

In constituencies where we have a Member of Parliament, it might be arranged for him to attend an informal reception, planned to take place at the end of the campaign. To be able to extend such an invitation at the time of the visit is bound to interest young people. The reception will also enable the Member to apprieciate the views and outlook of young people and they, in turn, his.

When calling on these young people they will be conscious of their new status so there must be a bond of sympathy and common interest between caller and called upon. Those who are more advanced in years will do well to look back on how they acted at that age and how they would have responded to a call inviting them to join the Party.

Times have changed it is true, and, because of that, the hardships and problems of the past are not a good basis of approach. This means that something else is needed—the active participation of our own young members. If we can obtain their help and views and bear in mind the importance of approach, it should be possible to make an effective impression on the new 'Y' voter.

MAKE INACTIVE MEMBERS WORK

EVERY Constituency Labour Party has a very large percentage of inactive members. Many keep such members well informed by circular and bulletins. Others are content just to collect their subscriptions.

Few, however, make a wholehearted effort to find out the quiet way in which many members might be willing to help, if the right approach were made.

We hope that in the New Year every constituency will play its part in the Forward to Victory' campaign. This is going to involve another membership drive (which, in turn, adds to the collecting problem); marking up of the registers; collecting information about postal voters; distribution of special literature, and propaganda campaigns.

These jobs will, for the most part, be tackled by active key workers who are the backbone of every party and are comparatively few in number. These key workers, not only tackle the big jobs which demand a great deal of initiative and hard work, but are too often burdened with a hundred and one little tasks.

Harness Their Help

Why not make a wholehearted effort at the very beginning of the year to harness the help of the inactive members, in order that the key workers may be relieved of so many small jobs which, nevertheless, are the key to the success of a Constituency Party and cannot be neglected?

A special circular addressed to every member could outline the plans for the forthcoming campaign. An appeal could be made to those not usually active to take some small task. The letter should be signed by the Party officers, the Member of Parliament or the prospective Parliamentary Candidate.

A list of a 'tasks to be done' might be enclosed and the member asked to indicate how he would be willing to help. If that letter could be followed up by a personal visit of an active ward or local party member it might have surprising results.

If we could get more active response from the members we have already at the very beginning of the campaign, that would be a grand start.

We are apt to conclude that because a member hever attends a meeting that there is a disinclination to help in any other way. Those of us wno are 'meeting minded' sometimes overlook the fact that hundreds of staunch supporters have never attended meetings. They are often reluctant to do so, fearing that they have no contribution to make and may be asked to undertake tasks which they are unable

Indeed, sometimes when they do venture forth, we fail to give them a warm welcome and behave as though the meeting were a closed 'shop'.

Once we can persuade a member to do a job which does not involve attending meetings and he does it well, it is often a successful first step to giving him confidence and bringing him into full activity.

Take some of the jobs which take up so much of the time of our key workers. First of all, there is the problem of collecting. Everywhere the cry goes up, "don't talk about making new members—anybody can make members—it's collectors we want". That is true. Most parties depending on a voluntary collecting system are concerned with this problem.

However, once again N.A.L.S.O. teams have proved during this year's campaign that it is possible to recruit collectors as well as members. It would be well worth while trying to recruit collectors from among the existing membership.

It is probable that if a special approach were made quite a few would volunteer to collect from half a dozen, or a dozen members living near at hand.

One of the features of the Forward to Victory' campaign will be an effort to substantially increase membership. Here again, the present membership might be able to give a helping hand. Why not try to start the campaign by asking every member, or family of members, to make a special effort to recruit just one new member? Fix a period for this effort and prepare special literature for this particular appeal.

This is a small contribution to ask of a member and there are few who would not know just one sympathiser who could be persuaded to join the Labour Party if approached specially by a friend. If this effort were only partially successful it would be worth while and could be carried through with a minimum of effort.

Constituency Labour Parties are to be offered special literature at very reasonable prices. Regular distribution of these publications and leaflets leading up to the General Election would be extremely valuable and would probably be more effective than literature distributed during the course of the General Election campaign, when electors are flooded with literature from all directions.

There will, however, be the problem of regular delivery. In many a street there will be at least one member who, while not prepared to collect subscriptions, might be willing to enrol as a literature distributor for a confined area.

This is only a small job for the individual concerned, but think what it would mean to a constituency to have planned literature distribution engaging a good number of members and, at the same time releasing key workers for other vital tasks.

Furthermore, the constant contact of literature distributors with the ward, local Labour Party, or polling district officers who would call regularly with the material for distribution, is bound to have the effect of making the hitherto inactive

member feel one of the team.

The inactive member might also be persuaded to assist in next year's propaganda drive. Much has been said in criticism of to-day's public meeting. Nevertheless, in some areas the pioneer method of 'cottage meetings' is coming into its own again. Members who have never been to a ward or local Labour Party meeting might be persuaded to open their homes for a 'cottage meeting', to which members and friends in the same street might be invited to meet the Member of Parliament or the Prospective Candidate.

Prevented by Family

Many of our women, whose family cares prevent them from activity, might be willing to provide refreshments for those attending this homely and useful

gathering.

It is amazing how many supporters can be brought together in a series of 'cottage meetings'. Those members who can make them possible by offering the use of their homes and providing refreshments must feel they are at least playing a useful part, and their interests in the wider work may well be stimulated.

There are many other ways in which an inactive member might be coaxed into doing a useful job. There is much more we could gain from the present membership if thought were given to making the right approach.

It is worth while making this effort of stirring up the interest of the present membership, a feature of the 1955 Campaign. It would be so much easier for our key workers to break new ground if they were assured that many of the present members were prepared, in future, to share the old burden.

S. E. BARKER

New Agents

THE National Executive Committee has recently approved the following agency appointments:

MR. L. H. GIBBS—as Secretary-Agent for South East Derbyshire. Mr. Gibbs, who is 37, has held various party offices recently in Cheltenham.

MR. J. A. STRONELL—as Secretary-Agent for Islington North. Mr. Stronell has been a full-time agent for six and a quarter years, serving Brentford and Chiswick, and Mitcham. He is 39.

MR. T. McGREGOR — as Secretary-Agent for North Kensington. Mr. McGregor, a motor transport driver, has served as a party officer in North Kensington for the past five years. He is 32.

MR. E. H. WILSON — as Secretary-Agent for Heston and Isleworth. Mr. Wilson is 44 and has been full-time agent for Wembley South for the past 18 months.

MR. H. GRIERSON—as Secretary-Agent for Isle of Thanet. Mr. Grierson has been a full-time agent since 1947, first at Wycombe and then at Reading. He is 54.

MR. F. C. GREEN—as Secretary-Agent for Horsham. Mr. Green has been a fulltime agent for six years, serving at Westbury since 1952. He is 31.

MRS. SADIE FLEMING—as Secretary-Agent for Doncaster. Mrs. Fleming is 40 and has been full-time agent at Carlisle

since 1952.

MR. A. J. E. WAITE—as Secretary-Agent for Huddersfield Borough. Mr. Waite was agent in Ormskirk from 1949 to 1950, after which he became agent for the Huyton Constituency. He is 37.

BRIGHTEN UP WITH FILM STRIPS

MANY Labour Party organisers have been looking for a new medium through which to put over Party education. Perhaps the film strip is the answer.

The Unicorn Head Visual Aids Ltd. have available over 470 film strips on a

great variety of subjects.

One of particular interest to local Labour Parties is entitled 'Your Vote'. It has 30 frames and deals with the whole procedure of Parliamentary elections.

The first frame shows the Sealing of the Instrument of Dissolution in the House of Lords by the Clerk of the Crown. Others include pictures showing the issue of the Writ, nomination papers, committee rooms, election work, polling stations, the declaration of the poll, and the storing of ballot papers in the Victoria Tower of the Palace of Westminster.

A set of notes is issued with each copy of the film strip purchased. While the notes are useful, most Party organisers will feel it necessary to supplement them with more detailed information about the Representation of the People Act, 1949,

and election campaigning.

The value of a film strip is that it helps to attract an audience and also assists in impressing any point which a lecturer may be making. The cost of a copy of the film strip 'Your Vote' and lecturers' notes is 12s. 6d. The frame size is 24 mm. by 18 mm.

The only other equipment required is a film strip projector. Although these cost anything from \pounds 24 to \pounds 45 they can often be borrowed or hired at a small charge. Over 16,000 schools own film strip projectors, and a large number are installed in churches, hospitals and similar institutions.

While it is an advantage to obtain a screen, it is not essential as pictures can be projected on to a white sheet or blank wall. The size of pictures will vary according to space available and the power of the film strip projector, but it is possible with the more expensive type to produce an image as large as is seen at a normal cinema.

Film strips can be valuable as a means of brightening up educational functions such as day schools. In addition, they can be used for putting over a message at Party General Committee meetings.

Some well organised parties may find it possible to conclude normal business after about an hour to an hour and a half and then have a special educational session of 30-45 minutes devoted to a speaker aided by a film strip.

No technical skill is required to operate film strip projectors, and they can be installed in quite small rooms in about 10 minutes. One of the main advantages of the film strip over moving pictures is that the lecturer can take as long as he requires over any one frame and can easily

quires over any one frame and can easily switch back to re-show pictures exhibited previously.

Among the film strips available from the Unicorn Head Visual Aids Ltd., are a series produced in association with the National Coal Board dealing with the coal miners' work, the growth of the coal industry, etc. Other topics vary from a film strip called 'The Houses of Parliament' to a sixty frame strip entitled 'How to run a Boys' Club'.

Broadway Chambers, 40 Broadway,

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K. PEAY

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THE LABOUR PARTY, TRANSPORT HOUSE SMITH SQUARE - - - S.W.I

Start moving now on Removals!

THERE are several points which can be added to my article on tracing removals which you published in the November *Organiser*, and I am grateful to Mr. Sims for some helpful comments. Since the subject is so important, linking as it does with the postal vote and the efficient use of cars on polling day, I make no apology for this postscript.

START NOW! That is the first item. Already people have moved—Labour voters—and are entitled to a postal vote. They have moved since October 10th, the qualifying date. But they will be registered at the old address until February 15th, 1956. So there is no need to wait in such cases—a form R.P.F. 8 can be sent to them right away.

I repeat what I feel was the key point of my article: that, unless a personal call can be arranged, a stamped, addressed envelope for the return of the completed form to the agent or postal vote officer

should be provided.

CHECKING LIST C. From List C it is easy to calculate the percentage of electors who have moved in the previous year, but this will vary from place to place. However, it will give our members an idea of the size of the problem.

List B gives us a list of new electors, about whom we need to know something. Surely there is a strong case for a specialised canvass of these new electors, with a distribution of literature and a search for anyone who ought to have a postal vote by reason of incapacity, blindness, or occupation.

TRADE UNION HELP. Mr. Sims suggests we should enlist the aid of the unions as much as possible, and it is true that members of the T.& G.W.U., the building trades' unions, the railway, hospital, fire brigade, and other unions often are qualified for a postal vote and, of course, they move. But surely it is also true that some of these are Tories. Are we interested in them?

I am bound to say that both in theory and in practice there are objections to depending too much on getting information from T.U. branches. Theoretically, the problem is that of divided responsibility. There will be a tendency for a local Party or ward committee to leave it to the union branch. There may even be duplication of effort. In addition, there is the serious objection that not all trade unionists are members of the Labour Party.

In practice, the answer is that we have tried it, and the results are negligible. The truth is that the T.U. secretaries who are Labour supporters are nearly always active in the Party in some way—and are most helpful with information. But they can hardly be expected to be responsible for work which is really that of the local Party or ward committee.

of the local Party or ward committee.

On reflection, I feel that we should pin our faith in building up our own system, based on registration committees, or a register secretary, or even on a special meeting occasionally, devoted to registra-

tion matters.

DEATHS. One thing which can be done in connection with the marked register and the postal vote file is the crossing out of the names of electors who die. Regular study of the obituary columns of the local papers makes this a simple matter, and here again, anyone who has died since 10th October, 1954, will still be included in the 1955 register.

ACTION, PLEASE! I end by referring to the sad fact that in spite of all that has been written and said about the postal vote and removals, little has been done. In the case of removals, this has not mattered before—but now it is vital. Surely, as part of the campaign to win the next election, there should be a campaign to stress the importance of removals. If the Party's policy is a 'Challenge to Britain', how truly can it be said that this simple organisational issue is a challenge to all Party members?

R. WEVELL

LOOKING AHEAD

Local parties will soon be making plans for their various outdoor functions. Agents faced with the problems of providing suitable entertainment on these occasions would be well advised to keep before them the advertisement on the back cover of this issue. They will find it invaluable.

Around the Regions

THREE ELECTION LESSONS

SINCE May last three elections have been held in a ward in Nottingham—two by-elections and the ordinary yearly election.

In May the figures were:

Labour ... 2,167 Tory ... 2,005 43.1 per cent poll

At a by-election in September they were:

Labour 1,917 Tory 1,882 39.2 per cent poll

and at a by-election in December they were:

Tory ... 1,682 Labour ... 1,661 34.54 per cent poll

When the first by-election was held it was agreed that the city agent should run the election and everything was laid on. Workers came in from the various wards in the city and an excellent canvass was done. On polling day every committee room carried out meticulously the knocking-up system, with the result mentioned above. This may not seem a good result to persons unacquainted with Nottingham but let me say that whilst Labour now wins the seat regularly at the ordinary elections, it has not won it at a by-election since the war. The Tory candidate was the widow of a Tory who had represented the ward for years. Her name was, in fact, a household word. Labour, though disappointed with the low poll, was well satisfied with the result.

Why did we not win in December?

Firstly, the Tories declared the vacancy, although it had been the accepted practice that the party whose seat it was did this. We were caught napping, without a candidate, and only 30 days to polling day.

Lesson No. 1-Never be caught napping.

The city agent again ran the election with the same canvassing system. Following so closely on the September election, Labour felt sure it would win the seat, with the result that workers

stopped away during the campaign and on polling day.

Lesson No. 2—Never be complacent or over-confident.

Even then we should still have won if all the polling day committee rooms had carried out their instructions and knocked up with the proper system. One committee room in a good Labour area ignored their instructions and from seven o'clock onwards used their own system. What was the result? There are 791 electors in the polling district and in September 309, or 39 per cent recorded their votes.

In December, only 195, or 24.6 per cent, went to the poll, a decline of 114 votes, or 14.4 per cent. The fall in the percentage poll for the whole of the ward was 4.66 per cent and had there only been the average decline in this polling district 75 more votes would have been

recorded.

As the canvass returns for the polling district indicated a possible 75 per cent Labour vote, those extra votes would have given a Labour victory. Had the knocking up been done properly, I am sure we could have polled these extra votes

Lesson No. 3 - Carry out the agent's

instructions.

The result is a set-back to Labour in the city which we cannot afford. If, however, we learn the lessons of it, it may not have been in vain.

East Midlands

J. CATTERMOLE

George Meir

ON December 11th, I journeyed to Tunstall, one of the Potteries Five Towns', to attend the official opening of the new headquarters of the Stoke (North) Constituency Labour Party. In addition to various-sized meeting rooms, there is a well-appointed office, used by the part-time agent, Alderman Harry Moston, and the Labour M.P., Mrs. Harriet Slater.

The premises have been bought outright, entirely redecorated and furnished, and all was bright, clean and efficient

looking.

The little opening ceremony was actually a tribute to the 'opener', grand old Potteries stalwart, George H. Meir. Although 83, he is still secretary of the Stoke-on-Trent City Labour Party, a position he has held for the incredible period of 36 years—ever since 1918!

For nine years he acted, at the same time, as secretary to the old Burslem Divisional Labour Party, and later, for 13 years, as secretary to the old Hanley

Division.

'G.H.', despite the bitter cold, first performed the little 'key' ceremony outside the building (five of us had been left in the office unaware of what was happening, and hearing a knock at the door, Councillor Fred Slater, husband of the Member, opened it and nearly ruined the ceremony!).

George must have opened these doors many thousands of times, for he has occupied an office on the ground floor for some 40 years. First a potter, he later set up in business in that office as an insurance agent, and then ran a check club, which, I am told, he still does.

Often he dreamed of seeing the party with a permanent home, but little did he think it would be in that very building.

In an upstairs meeting room, George gave a short speech. He said the Labour Party had come back home, for about 46 years ago the I.L.P. occupied the room below. They had to leave and he and his brother-in-law came in to run their own business; he was certain it was then used more for the Labour Movement than when the I.L.P. had it!

George became an active socialist when he was 18, no less than 65 years ago, before even the I.L.P. was started! He let his memory go back to the formation of the first Labour Representation Committee, and said the many things put in election addresses, local and national, for years, are now either on the Statute Book or have been adopted by the Stoke-on-Trent City Council.

From this very building, many years ago, George Meir and a band of workers sent out over 200,000 copies of their (Labour News'—he said there was then only one car amongst socialists in the

city!

Of the original Executive Committee, only three others are still living. I was delighted to again meet one of them at a pleasant social evening in the Town

Hall, which followed the official opening—Alderman Arthur Austin, still very alert, who has worked alongside George Meir in many walks of life over the past 60 years. Such men as these two make one with a mere 25 years in the Party feel very humble.

If only George Meir's memories could be taken down for a history of the Labour Movement in the Five Towns, what a wealth of human endeavour and struggle would be recalled.

The constituency's able Member, Mrs. Harriet Slater, in a short speech of tribute to George Meir, told of the many occasions when he should have been earning his living in the office below, but instead was working for the Movement. She referred to the many hardships he must have shared with Mrs. Meir, who was also present, and said the whole Labour Movement in Stoke had been built on the deep and sincere selfless service of a few men like George Meir.

To-day there are 96 Labour representatives on the City Council of 112 members, and the Party holds the three City Parliamentary seats with a combined

majority of 54,000!

George Meir's hope is that—"the rooms will be a home to men and women who think less of themselves than they do of the people—men and women who do not seek mere personal aggrandisment".

He has lived up to that himself and it would be a splendid gesture to name the new headquarters after George H. Meir, but whether or not this is to be so, the building will be a memorial to George Meir's work and devotion to the Stoke Labour Movement.

West Midlands H. R. UNDERHILL

QUOTE L99777

THE Labour Party now has a Co-operative Society Trading Number. By occasionally quoting L99777 when purchasing at Co-ops in the national membership scheme, individual members and affiliated organisations can help the Party's national funds.

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